

and under the view of the military that they know what's best for the country, we have developed horrendous national suicidal programs. It is precisely in strategic military planning -- in every element of it -- civilians should assume direct control of our national plans -- not just oversight but day-to-day participation in the planning. Specifically, there should be no strategic military planning carried on solely by military men.

Finally, because time is limited, as an immediate small step in the direction of de-militarizing the Pentagon, I recommend that our distinguished group of Congressmen urge the President to provide that all servicement and women on duty in the Pentagon be taken out of uniform. You'd be pleasantly surprised to see how ordinary a four star general or admiral looks in civilian dress.

ELLSBERG: I have two thoughts. One, I am struck listening to you, Congressman Kowalski, because of your ^{special} striking background. I was thinking over the various Presidents you were talking about earlier, the ones who ignored, by-passed, lied to and in general treated the Congress almost contemptuously.

These were the Presidents in war-time affairs, namely, Truman, Johnson, Kennedy and Nixon, who came from Congress. Whereas, the one who took Congress' role in these matters quite seriously, and in fact, let Congress impose what amounted to a veto -- an effective veto -- and kept us away from the disastrous possibility of going into North Vietnam was Eisenhower; listening, in part, to such people as Lyndon Johnson in the Congress.

The irony continues when one considers that he, in turn, had a military background, ~~which you speak of~~, and his skepticism was reserved for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which he kept trying to abolish and Congress kept saving them from him. He didn't trust them as an institution ~~very well~~ in the command process.

The question for Congressmen, it occurs to me, is what do you regard as the right of the Executive to lie directly to you?

Putting it the other way, what do you regard as your responsibilities to your constituents under the Constitution to do when an Executive official -- and we are not talking only of the President but also of the appointed officials under him -- comes before a Congressional committee and not only, on one hand, conceals information -- as clearly happened before the Cambodian invasion -- but lies about what happened, as in connection with the Cambodian invasion and the Laotian invasion and ~~Sant-Te-Re~~ ^{the Son Tay raid?}?

I happened to be in Washington when Secretary Laird appeared before the Fulbright Committee for, I think, the second time, partly in connection with the ~~Sant-Te-Re~~ ^{Son Tay raid}. It is perfectly evident from the information that came out in the newspapers that Secretary Laird made untrue statements about what we had done in the outskirts of Hanoi in connection with that raid in firing rockets -- a wartime act against another country. The American people had to learn directly about that from Hanoi Radio, which naturally at first didn't ^{have} get a lot

of plausibility.

I happened to be in Washington and attended that hearing. I expected to hear the panel of Senators confronting him jump down his throat. Presumably he hadn't done it on his own initiative but still he had done it.

On the contrary, I think they were on the defensive in the exchange, if anything. This does happen again and again and I wonder why it is regarded as almost heresy to talk about impeachment as Representative McCloskey has.

Again, one doesn't have to start with the President. There are Secretaries of Defense, the Air Force and the Army, who, from time to time are in a position of deliberately misleading Congress.

We do have the case in Cambodia of the President telling the people in a public speech that the intelligence estimates indicated that North Vietnamese troops were massing for the purpose of going west into South Vietnam and endangering our troops.

That was an untrue statement later abandoned by the administration. Again, I heard almost no criticism from Congress. In short, Congress would seem always to act out this role of helplessness and lack of legitimate right and need to know, which I can't believe is serving their constituents well.

ECKHARDT: Frequently we don't know whether it is a lie or not because we don't know or it has been misrepresented until much later, but there is a current situation regarding